a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (Wudhu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is nijis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

515 [264]

[782]

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The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 302 831
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache, through an understandable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Townsmen are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [934]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517 824 574
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation. 517 824 574 302 562

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent. 515 302 [515] [826] [578]

at an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kuhl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation 841
clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcized, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [853] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

usually offered to guests in wealthy homes or to visitors 276
to a shop in the bazar. Most of the populace, however, smoke those prepared from local leaf in the houses by the women. These are made in great quantity by filling manufactured paper tubes, about four inches in length, and folding down the paper remaining at one end. A number of persons possess small Austrian cigarette-rollers, devices which can be carried on the person enclosing a certain amount of tobacco and a book of papers. Factory-made cigarettes are kept in their pasteboard boxes, and Baghdadis, some of the government personnel, have nowadays [302] the habit, probably ephemeral, of letting the nail of the little finger on the left hand grow long with which to slit open the package. The longer domestic product is typically carried in a silvered metal box, resembling a covered soap-dish, imported from abroad. A number of persons use heavy cigarette holders of wood or imported amberoid, out of proportion to the cigarette in thickness. In Ottoman times, many had pipes with long stems, two or three feet in length, but they have largely disappeared. It is still possible to buy pottery bowls in the bazar to which a drilled wooden shaft can be attached as a stem, but they are not popular. The water-pipe is not remembered as ever having had much use in the area. A smaller pipe survives among the villagers and men of the lower class, a stubby form in baked clay of curious design with an overall length of about five inches and the height

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
most the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis-
sension is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 795
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as 186
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds [302]
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and underdrawers for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its scour of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is shaved with knives, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rwanda tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering forrish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the mustring from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder sons of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. These invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, reddening her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302]

764 usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullah read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowanduz to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the 768 burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new [302] head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely abandoned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for [767] example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune.

765 There is no specific period of mourning, although it is usually several months before normal life is resumed. The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women

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Rowandux

doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baythal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jejiani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527 [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Ilyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Ilyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Ilyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Ilyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Ilyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowandux: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Ilyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowandux by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Ilyas, I have [112]

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water 789
over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of
water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. [484]
Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowandus, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky 777
day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business
transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, 902
the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to
be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used
in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in
a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice.
A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of [751]
the house, "in order that no one will get a headache."
Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic
significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, 787
"and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of [774]
the other superstitions, for example, the significance
attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not 771
impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of
Rowandus as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who
do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a
large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 1. Village missionary. Married woman fetching wine home. Sulan.

and china ..."[1]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[2]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[3], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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[123]

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bidlisov, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und genossen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten anderen mosgemedanischen Völkern"[4]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[5]. Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[6], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the house"[7]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a similar treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"[8]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chief

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

[622]

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fätima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

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The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 3. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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302 *Beauty culture.* Women's hair is cut short at the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their back hair long, plaited in an unequal[33] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village aristocracy and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20es. Kurdish women's [192] hair is curly and looks as if it were permanent-waved, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but ash-blonde or [386] blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *xanna*[34]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for esthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is 302 first dyed red with *xanna* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba (inermis)*[35], 386 which is bought in the *sūq* in linen bags ready for use (E. 2356). It is then dyed green with indigo *(Indigo fera anil)*. After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair assumes the desired ink-black, rather heavy, colour[36].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the sides of the foot, the toes, and the palm of the hand and finger tips[37]. This staining I only saw resorted to in the two village environments. Within the village aristocracy this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with [197] European-American nail varnish which, like the henna, can be purchased in the *sūq* and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever tint serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The henna dye hides it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly when the henna dye gradually fades without at any time appearing unsightly, whilst the nail varnish peels off, as varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very slovenly effect.

302 Beauty aids also includes eye make-up, *kel*, that is to say powdered antimony (E. 2355), kept in a small brocade bag, *kel-dān*, (E. 2354a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.062 m. long, *kel-ēw*, (E. 2354b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[38].

American cosmetics could be bought in the *sūq* at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orosi Bak, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the trousseaux in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a humble village milieu will be very made-up, but this is only practised on special occasions.

304 Tattooing[39], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke across the nose, spots on the forehead, or the back of the hand, the instep or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[40].

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y young men wearing European clothes. Only by reason of the rosary swinging between the fingers 293
s it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans.
The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well-shaved. [302]

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hildren's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small kirtle with extra long, pointed 291
ms, a padded jacket, *dakat*, of flowered cotton material (E. 2329) or silk, and a cowl-shaped silk
onnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sack-like trousers, but it was
exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the towns I saw a boy of about 4 months
earing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly
opied from a European pattern (E. 2330a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although
ortally ill) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2330b).
As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-armed, striped, 291 E561

Fig. 83. Children's dress in the village. Tegucero.

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long shirts, without visible trousers up to the age of 6, whereafter they are given small men's costumes of home-woven goat's wool material, and conform generally to the men's clothing scheme (cf. figs. 10, 28, 65).

The somewhat larger girls wear long frocks with a high yoke of the type known from Afghanistan —velvet, dark-flowered cotton material, or silk. At the age of ten the little girl is clothed in adult woman's dress consisting of long, gathered trousers, kirtle and waistcoat. European children's dress could be seen in an urban milieu.

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In the villages a boy's hair is shaved at the neck and right over the crown, the hair on the front of the head being cut quite short. This may be done to avert evil[?].

Girls wear their hair long and plait it into several plaits held together by a horizontal string running across the back of the neck.

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583 114 369 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lets the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "gahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[121], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 291 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, thus a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, [177] was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English greys the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[122]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[123] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Ibbin shimar", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[124]. At another place Lane[125] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connection with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed [352] a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should ensure the gentleness [262] and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the [276] mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish [354] tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[143], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had [262] stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the *midwife* from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[142], reddish-yellow was [292] also the predominant colour of her dress[143], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[144]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[145], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride [583] price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her 304 finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent 309 moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing [292] otherwise only seen among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was first possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

leader, if he has a son who is being circumcised, to pay for the sons of poor people, and to give the feast. There is thus a tendency for the headman's sons to be circumcised in a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such generations of village boys.

When a child loses his first *deciduous tooth*, a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors «because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big».

When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends, decide she wishes to be *tattooed*, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presuming at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The controls seem essentially the the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

Marriage is one of the most exciting festivals of the village, and usually takes place in the autumn after the harvest, to ensure plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 26 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriages that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all one would expect of eating, smoking, and dancing, offering opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless excessive factionalism interferes, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

Death. After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relations come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the throats of two or three sheep are cut, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is «given to the poor» — that is, distributed

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11
Baluchi A12

This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal [between nomadic and sedentary way of life -- Analyst]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.